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words, looking at the matter from a broad point of view, we can safely say that already, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty (Anglo-Japanese Alliance), it was understood that there should be no application of this treaty to the United States."

Japan is naturally anxious to strengthen the ties of friendship and loyal co-operation between herself and the British Empire, which she regards as of the utmost importance to the stability of the Far East. At the same time it is the firm and fixed determination of Japan to permit nothing to hamper her traditional relations of good will and good understanding with the United States. She is satisfied that these two affiliations are in no way incompatible, but, on the contrary, complementary and even essential to each other.

Charges have sometimes been made that the alliance tends to encourage aggressive designs on the part of Japan in China. If this were the case it would be contrary to the preamble of the agreement, which provides for

"The preservation of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

Japan fully realizes that any such venture of aggression would be not only hopeless of attainment, but destructive of her own security and welfare. She sincerely wishes for China an early achievement of peace, unity, and stable government. She desires to cultivate her relations with that country along the path of mutual respect and helpfulness. Her vast commercial interests alone, if for no other consideration, point unmistakably to the wisdom of such a policy. This is a basic principle of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In no adverse direction has the alliance ever exerted its influence.

BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The past few weeks have seen a new and determined effort upon the part of the British Government to compose the Irish situation, which at this writing is so full of hope as to rejoice the civilized world. It is the most important effort that has been made since Sinn Fein took the field, and to observers on this side of the water it has refreshing elements of openness—of appeal to public opinion in Ireland and the world over. In some measure, the effort was threatened by almost coincident information that if peaceful attempts to find the remedy for the tragedy of Ireland fail, more extensive military operation in the south will take place; but the British Government succeeded in eliminating from the news of possible larger military operations the note of threat that would have been so inflammatory in the south of Ireland, and would have seriously discounted its effort at peaceful settlement.

The opening of the new Ulster Parliament was made the occasion upon which to pivot the peace appeal. Ulster having expressed its popular will in decisive fashion for continued union with the Empire, and a new government for the north of Ireland, clearly reflecting the will of the people, being in process of functioning in the presence of King George, the British statesmen seized upon that as the time, not to brandish the mailed fist at the south of Ireland, but to hold out the olive branch. King George's speech in opening the Ulster Parliament is accepted almost universally, outside the ranks of the extreme Irish nationalists, as a statesmanlike appeal. Arthur Balfour is credited with having written the speech, which is shot through with something of the spiritual quality that marks Balfour in certain moods:

The King's speech was:

For all who love Ireland as I do, with all my heart, this is a profoundly moving occasion in Irish history. I could not have allowed myself to give Ireland by deputy alone my earnest prayers and good wishes in the new era which opens with this ceremony, and I therefore come in person, as head of the Empire, to inaugurate the Parliament on Irish soil.

I inaugurate it with the deepest hope, and I feel assured you will do your utmost to make it an instrument of happiness and good government for all parts of the community which you represent. This is a great and critical occasion in the history of the six counties alone, for everything which interests them touches Ireland, and everything which touches Ireland finds an echo in the remotest parts of the Empire.

Few things are more earnestly desired throughout the English-speaking world than a satisfactory solution of the age-long Irish problems, which for generations embarrassed our forefathers as they now weigh heavily upon us. Most certainly there is no wish nearer my own heart than that every man of Irish birth, whatever his creed and wherever may be his home, should work in loyal co-operation with the free communities on which the British Empire is based.

I am confident the important matters intrusted to the control and guidance of the Northern Parliament will be managed with wisdom and with moderation, with fairness and due regard to every faith and interest, and with no abatement of that patriotic devotion to the Empire which you proved so gallantly in the great war. The request for full partnership in the United Kingdom and religious freedom Ireland has enjoyed. She has now conferred upon her the duty of dealing with all the essential tasks of domestic legislation and government, and I feel no misgiving as to the spirit in which you who stand here today will carry out the all-important functions intrusted to your care.

My hope is broader still. The eyes of the whole Empire are on Ireland today, that Empire in which so many nations and races have come together, in spite of ancient feuds, and in which new nations have come to birth within the lifetime of the youngest in this hall. I am emboldened by the thought to look beyond the sorrow and anxiety which have clouded of late my vision of Irish affairs. I speak from a full heart when I pray that my coming to Ireland today may prove to be the first step toward an end of strife among her people, whatever their race or creed.

In that hope I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment, and good will. It is my earnest desire that in southern Ireland, too, there may ere long take place a parallel to what is now passing in this hall; that there a similar occasion may present itself and a similar ceremony be performed.

For this the Parliament of the United Kingdom has in fullest measure provided the powers, for this the Parliament of Ulster is pointing the way. The future lies in the hands of the Irish people themselves. May this historic gathering be the prelude of the day on which the Irish people of the north and south, under one parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundation of mutual justice and respect.

At the same time the King's speech was delivered, Mr. Lloyd-George wrote Sir James Craig, Ulster's leader and premier, that he hoped "the influence and example" of Ulster "will assist to set the whole of Ireland, ere long, upon the path of practical co-operation," and three days later there went from London to Eamon de Valera the letter from Lloyd-George which sought to bring to a head, in the form of a conference of all interests, the move for peace. Lloyd-George wrote:

SIR: The British Government are deeply anxious that, so far as they can assure it, the King's appeal for reconciliation in Ireland shall not have been made in vain. Rather than allow yet another opportunity of settlement in Ireland to be cast aside, they feel it incumbent upon them to make a

final appeal, in the spirit of the King's words, for a conference between themselves and representatives of southern and northern Ireland.

I write, therefore, to convey the following invitation to you as the chosen leader of a great majority in southern Ireland and to Sir James Craig, premier of northern Ireland: (1) That you should attend a conference here in London, in company with Sir James Craig, to explore to the utmost the possibility of a settlement. (2) That you should bring with you for the purpose any colleague whom you may select. The government will, of course, give safe conduct to all who may be chosen to participate in the conference.

We make this invitation with a fervent desire to end the ruinous conflict which has for centuries divided Ireland and embittered the relations of the peoples of these two islands, who ought to live in neighborly harmony at a time when co-operation would mean so much, not only to the Empire, but to humanity. We wish that no endeavor should be lacking on our part to realize the King's prayer, and we ask you to meet us, as we will meet you, in the spirit of conciliation for which His Majesty appealed.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

D. LLOYD-GEORGE.

E. de Valera, Esq.

Mr. Lloyd-George sent a similar letter, of course, to Sir James Craig.

These letters having been sent, the situation passed from a phase calling for broad gestures to the more difficult one of cautious negotiation. On the day following the dispatch of Lloyd-George's letter to de Valera, Dublin apparently was confused as to policy, and there were signs of difference of opinion between the extremists among the Sinn Fein and the moderates. In Belfast, Craig moved at once to comply with Lloyd-George's proposal, calling a meeting of his Cabinet to consider the nature of the formal reply and to select delegates to the suggested conference in London. That move by Craig led to the thought that de Valera might ask permission to consult with his Sinn Fein Cabinet, which, if granted, would mean that the British must release at least temporarily several Sinn Fein leaders who have been jailed.

The next day brought no definite news from Dublin, but on the day following that de Valera acted. He wrote Lloyd-George as follows:

I have received your letter. I am in consultation with such of the principal representatives of our nation as are available. We most earnestly desire to help in bringing about a lasting peace between the peoples of these two islands, but see no avenue by which it can be reached if you deny Ireland's essential unity and set aside the principle of national self-determination.

Before replying more fully to your letter, I am seeking a conference with certain representatives of the political minority in this country.

In conformity with that letter, de Valera sent the following one to Craig and other Ulster leaders:

The reply which I, as the spokesman for the Irish nation, shall make to Mr. Lloyd-George will affect the lives and futures of the political minority in this island no less than those of the majority. Before sending my reply, therefore, I would like to confer with you and to learn from you at first hand the views of certain sections of our peoples of whom you are the representative.

I am confident you will not refuse this service to Ireland, and I shall await you at Mansion House, Dublin, on Monday next in the hope that you will find it possible to attend.

In the meantime Craig had sat with his Cabinet on Lloyd-George's invitation, had accepted it and named his delegates; so he took the position, upon receipt of de Valera's letter, that he could not accept the latter's invitation to meet

him in Dublin, since he had "already accepted Premier Lloyd-George's invitation to the London conference."

Craig's refusal to meet de Valera in Dublin brought into sharp relief the difficulties that would attend the negotiations and caused many to fear that the whole plan would be abortive, as have been so many plans for settlement of the Irish situation, but there was a prevailing belief, or intuition, in this country that the situation was too ripe for settlement to die so early and easily. Events proved the soundness of that belief, or intuition, although on June 29 de Valera somewhat strengthened the view of the pessimists by replying as follows to Craig's declination:

I greatly regret that you cannot come to a conference in Dublin Monday. Mr. Lloyd-George's proposal because of its implications, is impossible of acceptance in its present form. Our political difficulties ought to be adjusted and can, I believe, be adjusted on Irish soil. But it is obvious that in the negotiation of peace with Great Britain the Irish delegation ought not to be divided, but should act as a unit on some common principle.

Two days later, however, on July 1, de Valera was in conference with other Sinn Fein leaders, among them Arthur Griffith and Prof. John MacNeill, who had been released from prison by the British as part of the general move toward conciliation and peace. While the world learned nothing definite from that conference, progress was sensed. Meantime, information had come that while Craig would not attend the Dublin conference, others of his party would do so, and the session which was to be held on the Fourth of July, was awaited with the keenest interest throughout the civilized world.

The guarded outgivings from that conference were hopeful. Intimations came that de Valera would meet Lloyd-George in London after all. In the conference he and Griffith represented Sinn Fein, and the Unionists were represented by Earl Middleton, Sir Maurice Dockrell, Sir Robert Woods, and Arthur Jameson, who, incidentally, also represented the land-owning and commercial classes and the university element of North Ireland. The two groups discussed the situation amicably, and in evident consonance with a new spirit that had come over Ireland, and led to a certain fraternization in the streets between the opposing partisans.

On the day of this conference—the Fourth of July—Ambassador Harvey, speaking before the American Society in London, at its annual Independence Day dinner, voiced something of the spirit that was in the air when he said:

Whether the territory comprising the United States could have been retained is wholly speculative. But one fact is certain—if George III had issued a proclamation even approximating in eloquent sincerity and appealing force that uttered the other day by George V in his faithful endeavor to reconcile a nation, there would have been no ringing of bells in Philadelphia 145 years ago this night, nor for many years thereafter.

The next day General Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of South Africa, appeared in Dublin. One report stated that he had not gone there as an agent of the British Government, but in his individual capacity. He had been given to understand that he might be able to aid in bringing de Valera and Lloyd-George together in conference, and he sought the opportunity to help. Another report was that he had Lloyd-George's terms on paper. In any event he saw de Valera, Griffith, and others of the Sinn Fein leaders, and had prolonged conferences with them.

And on July 6, General Smuts was back in London, full of cheer, and spent hours in conference with Lloyd-George, Sir James Craig, Balfour, Lord Birkenhead, Sir Hamar Greenwood, and other authorities. That night, speaking at a dinner given him by the South African colony in London, General Smuts said that the Irish situation was soluble, and that if all helped "to create a better atmosphere and are determined to wipe out what is really a stain on the Empire's record, we shall succeed."

He continued:

I think, I am hopeful, I trust, that the question will be solved and that thereby the British Empire will be freed from the imputation that in this ancient part of the United Kingdom there still exists violation of the fundamental principles upon which the Empire rests. I say that the problem is soluble because I have seen it solved in my own country under circumstances less embittered than in Ireland, but certainly of a very different character, too.

By that time there was more and more discussion of possible terms of settlement, and following this speculation was a tendency to believe that "settlement was too good to be true"—a tendency stimulated by some reports from Dublin that there was fresh doubt that de Valera would meet Lloyd-George, reports which rather pictured de Valera as standing on his dignity. But it was evident that officials' hopes still were high, and attention was centered by the discerning on a conference of Sinn Fein leaders with Unionist representatives to be held in Dublin on Friday, July 8. That conference merited the attention of the discerning, for it was pregnant of progress toward peace. Great events flowed from it. Following the conference, de Valera sent this letter—that will be historic—to Lloyd-George:

SIR: The desire you expressed on the part of the British Government to end the centuries of conflict between the peoples of these two islands and to establish relations of neighborly harmony is the genuine desire of the people of Ireland.

I have consulted with my colleagues and received the views of the representatives of the minority of our nation in regard to the invitation you have sent me. In reply I desire to say that I am ready to meet and discuss with you on what basis such a conference as that proposed can reasonably hope to achieve the object desired.

EAMON DE VALERA.

Co-incidentally, information was given to the public that hostilities would be suspended in Ireland on the following Monday, which was July 11. It developed that Earl Middleton had been the bearer of messages between Lloyd-George and de Valera, in which it was agreed that negotiations in conference for peace would be disturbed if violence were continued in the island. De Valera issued the following proclamation to his followers:

Fellow citizens: During the period of truce each individual soldier and citizen must regard himself as the custodian of the nation's honor. Your discipline must prove in the most convincing manner that this is a struggle of an organized nation.

In the negotiations now initiated your representatives will do their utmost to secure the just and peaceful termination of this struggle, but history, particularly our own history, and the character of the issue to be decided are a warning against undue confidence.

Unbending determination to endure all that may still be necessary and fortitude such as you have shown in all your recent sufferings—these alone will lead you to the peace you desire. Should force be resumed against our nation you must be ready on your part once more to resist.

Thus alone will you secure the final abandonment of force and the acceptance of justice and reason as the arbiter.

On July 9 the Associated Press cabled the following statement of the terms of the truce, as given by the *Irish Bulletin*, organ of Sinn Fein:

On the part of the British:

Firstly, that there be no incoming troops of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Auxiliaries and no shipments of munitions into Ireland and no movements for military purposes except in the maintenance of drafts.

Secondly, that there be no provocative display of forces, armed or unarmed.

Thirdly, that all provisions of the truce apply to the martial law area just as for the rest of Ireland.

Fourthly, that there be no pursuit of Irish officers and men or search for war material and military stores.

Fifthly, that there be no secret agents noting descriptions or movements of, and no interference with the movements of, Irish military men and civilians, and no attempt to discover the haunts and habits of Irish officers and men.

Sixthly, that there be no search for, or observance of, lines of communication.

Seventhly, that there be no search for messengers.

Other details connected with courts-martial, motor permits and similar matters, says the *Irish Bulletin*, are to be agreed to later.

On behalf of the Irish Republican Army it was agreed:

Firstly, that attacks on Crown forces and civilians cease.

Secondly, that there be no provocative displays of forces, armed or unarmed.

Thirdly, that there be no interference with Government or private property.

Fourthly, the discountenance and prevention of any action likely to cause disturbance of the peace and which might necessitate military interference.

At the time of going to press the date for the conference between de Valera and Lloyd-George and their respective associates, had not been fixed. Lloyd-George had proposed that it be a day agreeable to de Valera. It seemed to be a matter of but a short time before the spokesmen for the combatants would deal across the table, face to face, with the world praying that they would deal wisely, and making its opinion felt as fully as possible. It seemed likely that the British and Sinn Fein would hold conversations before the Ulsterites, headed by Craig, appeared.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

IN HIS ADDRESS at the commencement exercises of Brown University, Secretary Hughes found occasion indirectly to disabuse the minds of any who may think that his insistence, in recent notes to various nations, upon protection of American property rights and opportunities meant that in his work as head of the State Department he is concentrated exclusively upon the material aspects of foreign relations. The Secretary showed that, even in the most determined demands for rights, his mind travels farther than the mere safeguarding of American property interests. In protecting American rights, in his opinion, there is removal of the seeds of future dissension, and, further, there is introduced into the tangled affairs of the world the example of fair play and justice. He said:

The world is settling down, but is not yet settled. The counsels of power and expediency still dominate, as the serious problems left by the great war press for solution. This